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ADJUSTMENTS OF RURAL-REARED YOUNG ADULTS IN URBAN AREAS.

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THIS PAPER STATES THAT IT HAS BEEN FOUND THAT URBAN RESIDENTS WITH RURAL BACKGROUNDS DO NOT ACHIEVE AS HIGH AN ECONOMIC STATUS AS URBAN-REARED RESIDENTS. INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AGE, AND NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT ARE FACTORS AFFECTING THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC STATUS. IT FURTHER APPEARS THAT THE URBAN MIGRANT IS MOTIVATED ON ONE HAND BY A DESIRE TO IMPROVE HIS ECONOMIC STATUS, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND RESISTS ADJUSTMENT IN HIS VALUES AND BEHAVIOR, THIS RESISTANCE BEING CHARACTERIZED BY A LACK OF COMPLETE PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE AUTHOR CONCLUDES THAT FURTHER RESEARCH IS NEEDED IN ORDER TO BREAK THE CYCLE OF LOW EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. THIS PAPER WAS PREPARED FOR PRESENTATION AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS OF RURAL YOUTH IN A CHANGING ENVIRONMENT (SEPTEMBER 1963). (JS)

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ABSTRACT

In general, urban residents with farm or rural backgrounds do not achieve as high occupational status as urban-reared persons. Variations in educational level explain most of these differences in occupational level. Age and years lived in the city are of lesser importance.

Rural-migrants generally participate less fully in formal social organizations than do urban-migrants or persons who have always lived in the city under study, but most of the differences are explained by other factors, principally socio-economic status, and to some extent by length of time in the city. The tendency of in-migrants to cling to relationships already established with friends and relatives who preceded or followed them to the city may help cushion the shock of adjustment for the migrants, but it also may delay their ultimate adjustment. The opportunity to transfer much of their way of life intact to the urban scene may help explain the persistence of lower parental educational and occupational aspirations for their children. Research and specially designed action programs are needed to determine how the cycle of low educational and occupational aspiration and achievement can be broken.

Negative evaluations of the less successful occupational achievement of rural-reared migrants must be tempered with consideration of the social costs and benefits experienced by the migrant. Migration is motivated by a desire to improve status, particularly economic status, and the majority of migrants feel they have succeeded in this, but not without some cost. The costs appear to arise primarily from frustrations experienced in coping with the noise, congestion, and impersonality of urban life. Perhaps, from a personal adjustment point of view, the migrant cannot be blamed for minimizing changes in his values and behavior. Yet, there is pressure for change from many sources, particularly as levels of living rise, both among rural in-migrants to cities and among rural residents. In the meantime, the process of urbanization of rural areas continues apace, further reducing some of the rural-urban differences we have discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Migration of youth and young adults from rural to urban areas has been a part of the national scene for a long time, but the nearly simultaneous closing of the frontier and restriction of immigration in the early decades of this century greatly increased the importance of rural-urban migration in the growth of our cities. More recently, a rapid rise of labor efficiency in agriculture has greatly reduced farm labor needs and added an important "push" element to the rural-urban migration stream. In the 52 years, 1910-62, over 33 million more people moved from American farms than moved to them or whose residences were reclassified as nonfarm. 1/ As a consequence, the number of farm-reared persons in the nonfarm population exceeded the population remaining on farms and made up one-third of the total nonfarm population at the end of the period. 2/ At the time they moved, the bulk of these persons were youths or young adults. Not all of them went directly to urban places; about 40 percent stopped in small towns and villages, and those who did go to urban places concentrated more in small cities than in large metropolitan centers. Nevertheless, an estimated third or more were in metropolitan centers at the end of the period. How well do these farm-reared and other rural-reared youth and young adults fare in the city? Our discussion focuses on this question.

The specific purpose of this report is to describe the types of social and occupational adjustments these young adults make in urban life and the factors related to these adjustments. Answers are sought for such questions as: How successful have they been in occupational achievement compared with urban-reared migrants and urban natives? What differences are there between the farm- or rural-reared and urban-reared in political, social, and other activities? What factors explain any differences?

ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment is viewed as problem-solving behavior brought about by differences between one's expectations regarding the behavior of others and the others' expectations regarding the self. These expectations are based on values, ideas of what is right, proper or good in and of itself, and become expressed in actual behavior through social roles -- behavior that conforms to what generally is expected in a given social situation.

To the degree that a person "knows" the values of others, he is able to predict their behavior (roles), and if he desires their approval, he learns to adjust his behavior (roles) to their expectations of him. In the process

of socialization -- growing up -- a person internalizes from his family and community a set of values and roles, making it possible to live with a minimum of friction and frustration. When he leaves his "home" community (community of orientation) for a different one, he may need to alter some of his values and roles to predict successfully the behavior of the people around him and to adjust to new ways of life.

Among rural-urban migrants the extent and difficulty of these adjustments will vary with the extent and kinds of differences between values and roles learned in the rural community of origin and those that guide social interaction in the cities to which they migrate. There is no one set of rural values and roles in contrast to a neat and clearly defined set of urban values and roles. Instead, wide variations exist among rural communities and still wider variations exist among urban places in relation to value and role patterns. As a result of these variations, there is a wide range of differences between communities of origin and communities of destination for rural-to-urban migrants. Some differences are small. Others are almost overwhelming. For instance, the person moving from a farm in a metropolitan county to a suburb (or the suburb coming to him) may be conscious of very little change, whereas a person from the most isolated farms in the Appalachian or Ozark region moving to New York City might experience the opposite extreme.

Of necessity, we must deal with comparisons among groups or aggregates and use statistical descriptions of categories of people, such as averages, rather than individual cases. Keep in mind, however, that variations within either the rural or urban population often are greater than differences between categories.

Adjustment may occur in various areas of life's activities; in occupational roles, family roles, community roles, all of which require adjustments to other people, and in behavior toward the physical environment -- buildings, machines, trees, grass, and even the weather. Adaptation to a new and different environment involves changes in individual behavior. To the individual this is a psychological process, but in the aggregate the adaptation of a group of individuals to new social systems based on different values and roles involves the socio-cultural process of assimilation. This report focuses largely on the socio-cultural aspect and deals specifically with aggregate or group adaptation to occupational, family, and community roles in the city.

OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND ECONOMIC STATUS

How successful are rural migrants to the city in occupational and economic activity? This question is appropriate for beginning our discussion because of the predominant importance of occupational roles in the total life of any individual in a complex industrial economy. We start with a brief answer to this question. Research on occupational achievement, both in the United States and other countries, shows that rural-urban migrants have less successful occupational achievement patterns than urban-reared persons. 3/ Now, we turn to the data that support this generalization.

MEASURING OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

In a complex industrial society, social status or rank is largely, though not solely, dependent upon occupation. This is true because a major element in social mobility results from the distribution of rewards for talent and training. Industrial societies make extensive use of occupational talents and training in the distribution of rewards.

Two commonly used measures of occupational status are: (1) the division of census occupational categories into manual and nonmanual jobs; and (2) scores measuring occupational prestige. The census classification provides a handy and widely available tool for measurement. In general, it is assumed that manual or blue-collar occupations have lower prestige than nonmanual or white-collar occupations. The second is a more discriminating measure in that it provides prestige rankings for a large number of occupations. Respondents were asked to rate the relative social standing of different occupations. Such a ranking was obtained by North and Hatt for a nationwide sample in the 1940's. 4/ This ranking, with various interpolations, has been widely used and has become known as the North-Hatt scale, and is used to measure the relative prestige of different occupations.

THE EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Evidence of the greater difficulty experienced by rural-reared migrants in achieving high ranking occupations in American cities comes from a variety of studies made during the past 15-20 years. Study locales cover a wide geographical range, and the research approaches also vary greatly. Some caution must be used, therefore, in comparing results and drawing generalizations from these studies. Reports based on samples limited to specific cities or areas of the country have limited value in generalizing to the national population, and reports based on a national sample have limited value in predicting the situation in a specific city or area. Both may have further limitations such as small samples or designs that fail to use adequate controls, may limit the validity of results.

One of the first systematic analyses of adjustments of rural migrants to urban life was conducted in Lexington, Kentucky, in the early 1940's. 5/ Household heads reared on farms and in rural places to age 15 were compared with urban-reared heads on several characteristics, including occupation and income. Larger proportions of the rural-reared persons had low incomes and held low status occupations than the urban-reared. In 1949-50 a survey of 935 principal wage earners in Oakland, California, revealed that those who had lived most of the time between the ages of 13 and 19 on farms were most likely to have been manual workers for most of their careers and that the larger the community of orientation (where they lived between the ages of 13 and 19) the higher the status of their current jobs. 6/

More recently studies in Cedar Rapids 7/ and Des Moines, Iowa, 8/ and in Wilmington, Delaware, 9/ have reported evidence on the relative occupational and economic achievement of rural-reared migrants and urban-reared migrants (those moving to the city but having urban backgrounds) and natives of the city. The Cedar Rapids study compared the occupational status of the parents

of seventh- and eleventh-grade school children. In Des Moines a random sample of 1,690 heads of households were classified by where they had lived most of the time between the ages of 5 and 19. Data on occupational achievement were obtained from all 1,690, data on social participation and other measures of adjustment to urban life were obtained from three samples selected from within the larger sample. The three samples were: (1) farm-reared migrants, (2) urban-reared migrants, and (3) Des Moines natives. In the Wilmington study, a quota sampling procedure was used to select 244 cases. In all three studies, farm- or rural-reared migrants had lower status urban jobs than urban-reared migrants or urban natives, although different age groups and sampling procedures were used in these studies.

One recent study, however, found no significant variation in occupational status according to the size of community of orientation. 10/ This study in Racine, Wisconsin, compared the occupational and residential adjustment of the rural-reared and urban-reared workers in two samples, a Mexican and a non-Mexican white or Anglo. Mexican-Americans were more highly concentrated in the lower status and lower income occupations, but no significant relationship between size of community of orientation and status level of present job was found in either group.

Thus, of six independent studies using somewhat different procedures in identifying respondents and in analyzing data on the experiences of migrants in six cities scattered from Delaware to California, five supported the conclusion that rural-reared migrants have less successful occupational achievement patterns than urban-reared persons and one, the Racine study, did not. Obviously the lack of unanimity of results could be due to differences in research methods, or differences among the cities studied or to both.

As part of an investigation of the 1952 election, the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, obtained information on occupational and residential experiences of a national sample of 1,887 adults. Analysis of these data added support to the majority opinion of the independent city samples. One-third of the nonfarm adults in the sample were farm-reared. In contrast to the nonfarm-reared, these persons were underrepresented in high prestige occupations such as professional and semi-professional and were overrepresented in unskilled or service occupations. Also, the proportion of farm-reared with family incomes of less than $2,000 was nearly three times the proportion of nonfarm-reared with family incomes that low. 2/

The 1950 Census data show that persons moving within the nonfarm sector were more concentrated in the higher paying and higher status occupations than were persons who moved from the farm to nonfarm sector.

FACTORS INFLUENCING OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

The bulk of the evidence supports the generalization that, on the average, rural-reared migrants to the city are less successful than urban-reared persons in achieving higher occupational status. What factors influence occupational achievement? Two types of factors are considered: (1) those that are independent of size and rurality of community of orientation; and (2) those that are dependent on size and rurality of the migrants' community of orientation.

FACTORS INDEPENDENT OF SIZE AND RURALITY OF COMMUNITY OF ORIENTATION

Occupational achievement is directly related to age and time in the labor force. Consequently, age at time of migration and time in the urban labor force, generally are related to occupational status, regardless of the size of community orientation. Since the age structure of a migrant population may vary from city to city in accordance with the type of labor demanded and the rate of growth produced by in-migration, it is important to consider age in comparing the occupational achievement of different classes of migrants.

Several studies have indicated that adjustment increases with time lived in the city 5/ 11/, but there is no substantial evidence that these rates are more or less rapid for rural-reared than for urban-reared migrants entering the urban occupational structure at the same level. Thrice 12/ found that the rural-reared experienced a higher rate of job change, at least in the initial period of their time in the city, and that the highest ratio of change occurred among rural-reared high school graduates. But, he presented no evidence on the relative level of the starting job or the amount of upward occupational mobility. Lipset 6/ found that the farm-reared had spent a significantly higher proportion of their work careers in manual occupations than had the urban-reared, but he presented no data on relative rates of occupational mobility after the move to the city. He did find, however, that upward mobility of rural-reared migrants was concentrated in two essentially entrepreneurial occupational categories, the self-employed and the professionals.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SIZE AND RURALITY OF COMMUNITY OF ORIENTATION

When differences in age are accounted for, major differences between farm-reared migrants and urban-reared persons in occupational achievement still persist. Several factors which appear to explain much of the remaining difference have been identified. They may be grouped under the following headings: (1) basic knowledge and skill levels; and (2) kinds and sources of knowledge about urban employment opportunities and urban life.

BASIC KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

What are referred to as "basic knowledge and skills" is derived from many experiences, the most important of which probably is years of formal education, but which also includes experiences in social relationships, ranging from those in formal bureaucratic organization to informal personal relationships with friends and relatives. Research has concentrated on the first of these -- years of formal schooling.

Levels of educational attainment are substantially lower among rural populations than among urban populations, but for different reasons now than formerly. In the past decade high school drop-out rates have narrowed greatly between farm and urban youth. In 1950, 40 percent of farm youth and 28 percent of urban youth 16-24 years old had dropped out of school. By 1960, drop-out rates were about the same for urban youth (21 percent) as for farm youth (23 percent). 13/ Large differences in favor of urban youth, however, still persist for post high school enrollment. 14/ Thus, differences in educational levels among rural and urban youth now largely reflect differential rates of

post high school enrollment and not, as before, large differences in high school drop out rates as well.

Although migration from farms and other rural areas tends to be selective on education, that is, out-migrants, have more schooling than those who remain on the farm or in rural areas, 15/ rural-urban migrants generally average less formal schooling than urban-reared persons. In Oakland 8/ the proportion of farm-reared with some college training was only about one-half that of those from cities of 250,000 or over. In the national sample, 60 percent of the farm-reared had only grade school educations compared with 27 percent of the nonfarm-reared. And only nine percent of the farm-reared had some college education compared with 19 percent of the nonfarm-reared. 9/ Almost half of the men with farm backgrounds in the Cedar Rapids study had not finished high school, compared with 28 percent of the men with urban backgrounds. About one-third in each group finished high school. But only 16 percent of the men with farm backgrounds had some education beyond high school, compared with 40 percent for the urban-reared men. 7/ In Des Moines, the farm-reared men had the lowest median years of schooling and the urban-reared migrants had the highest, with the rural-nonfarm-reared migrants and the urban natives coming in between. The proportions with some college training was twice as high in the urban-migrant group as in the farm-reared group, again with the rural-nonfarm and the urban native groups in between. In both comparisons, men with rural-nonfarm backgrounds were better educated than those who always had lived in Des Moines.

Educational attainment and occupational achievement are closely related. In view of the differences between rural-urban migrants and urban-reared persons, both in levels of educational and occupational achievement, an important question arises: To what extent do differences in educational levels explain differences in occupational achievement between rural-urban migrants and urban-reared persons?

Using a manual-nonmanual dichotomy for occupations, Lipset 6/ reported that when amount of education was held constant much of the difference between rural migrants and urban-reared persons in occupational achievement was accounted for; however, the superiority of the urban-reared was still evident. Similar results were obtained with the data from Cedar Rapids, Iowa 7/, but in the Des Moines study carefully controlled analysis indicated that age and educational level explained all significant differences in occupational achievement among men in the farm-Des Moines, urban-Des Moines, and always-Des Moines samples. Of the three variables tested, age was less closely related to occupational achievement than was education. This more detailed analysis showed that occupational-achievement differences originally thought to be related to the community backgrounds of the men were, in fact, due to differences in education and age.

INFORMATION ABOUT EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE CITY

Economists have emphasized the importance of information about jobs in the functioning of the labor market. Smith found major differences in the sources and kinds of information about the urban labor market and living

conditions in Indianapolis among three groups of workers having rural backgrounds. All persons were farm-reared, but they differed in regard to race and region of origin. Two groups were from the South, one white and one Negro, whereas the third included only northern whites. The northern whites came shorter distances and their communities were culturally more similar to Indianapolis than the communities from which the Southern Negroes and Southern whites came. 18/

All three groups relied heavily on friends and relatives for job information, but, of the three, northern whites made greater use of mass media. Although the bulk of the information was rather general and nonspecific, the information acquired by the northern whites was by far the most specific.

Urban migrants to Wilmington, Delaware, tended to migrate through a relatively impersonal sort of contact (notably through the labor market) and to bring with them a significant amount of knowledge about cities in general and Wilmington in particular, while rural migrants were more likely to rely on personal ties and to bring little knowledge of the city with them. In migrating, the urban group retained much of its way of life, even if it cut many of its personal ties, while the rural group retained personal ties, even if it changed much of its way of life. 9/

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Although adjustment of occupational roles is of central importance in assimilating to urban life, other areas of social and community relationships also are important. Some of these are less visible and more difficult to measure; consequently, empirical evidence is less widely available. However, some studies of urban adjustments among rural-migrants have included information on social participation as a measure of the individual's involvement in group life.

MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITY IN FORMAL GROUPS

Studies of social participation indicate that in general rural people do not participate as extensively in formal associations as do urban people. Several factors account for this difference -- the greater complexity of social organization in the city and the greater variety of formal groups which serve the special interests of the population. Rural social organization is simpler and depends more on informal relationships. This does not necessarily mean, however, that rural people participate more extensively in informal forms of associations. Studies in both rural and urban areas indicate that rates of formal and informal social participation are closely correlated. Apparently the lower rates of both formal and informal social participation in rural areas reflect the greater isolation and the slower tempo of rural life. Still, in both rural and urban communities there are wide variations in social participation related to differences in socioeconomic status.

Some studies report that rural-reared migrants, particularly farm-reared migrants, have lower social participation rates than their urban neighbors, even though the formal social participation of the majority of all urban

residents is limited to church, union or business-professional activit, and perhaps a club. Omari 11/ found that the rural-reared were slower to nter into formal associations and took longer to adjust to them than urban migrants who typically made a rapid adjustment, soon approximating and frequently exceeding the participation rates of urban natives. Zimmer 17/ also found that given enough time in the city many of the farm-reared equaled the participation rates of the urban natives. Furthermore, differences that remained after a period of adjustment were largely related to economic status. On the other hand, in Wilmington, Delaware, the rise in social participation levels among rural-urban migrants was not very great and that it was apparently more dependent on other factors such as occupational status than on community of orientation. For example, recent white-collar migrants from rural backgrounds were more active socially than their blue-collar counterparts who had been there longer. 9/

The difficulty of adjusting to urban social participation patterns varies with different associations. Rural-reared migrants, particularly the farm-reared, likely will have had less experience with formal voluntary organizations than the urban-reared; also, integration into urban social organization will be easier in those activities for which a farm background provides the most training and experience and hardest in those areas for which it povides the least training and experience. Analyses of voting behavior, for example, show that political activity in the farm population is low. 18/ It might be expected, therefore, that rural migrants will be less active in urban political activities.

Freedman and Freedman 2/ found just that. In this national sample, the farm-reared were less active politically than the nonfarm-reared as measured by a four-point scale: (1) voter and active in a political campaign (952); (2) voter but not active in a political campaign; (3) nonvoter but active; and (4) nonvoter and nonactive. This relationship remained when income, region, age, sex, and size of residential community were controlled. he farm-reared also ranked lower on a political efficacy scale, a measureof the degree to which a person feels he can take effective action through erablished political machinery to meet his problems.

On the other hand, the farm-reared Protestants had somewhat highe church participation rates than urban-reared Protestants. When income was controlled, this difference persisted in the lower income groups, but disappearedin the upper income groups.

In the Des Moines study, social participation scores were determined for level of activity in six categories of voluntary association; religious, educational, occupational, social-recreational, civic-service, and political. There was no significant difference between farm-reared migrants, urban-reared migrants and Des Moines natives. With one exception (the totalsocial-participation scores of the wives) differences were also nonsignificant for total organizations belonged to and total participation scores.

Religious denominations are sometimes classified into the established churches and the newer sects. A major reason given for the growth of sects

in urban areas is that established urban churches ignore or reject rural migrants. Holt suggests that the sect satisfies unmet need of rural migrants for religious expression and serves to cushion their abrupt exposure to urban life. 19/ No support for this hypothesis was found by Dynes for migrants in Columbus, Ohio. 20/ Rural-reared individuals, however, were somewhat more sectarian, but the sectarian was not a recent migrant. Further analysis showed that sectarian views were related to low socio-economic status. Dynes concluded that rurality of community of origin was important in sectarianism only as it reflects lower socio-economic status. Des Moines data support this conclusion. Affiliation with sectarian religious organizations was not greatly different among farm-reared migrants, urban-reared migrants, and native families. The small differences in sectarian affiliation that did exist were associated with differences in occupational status. Furthermore, aside from the larger proportions of farm-migrants who continued affiliation with several of the churches frequently found in rural Iowa, differences in proportions affiliated with various church-type denominations were minor among the three Des Moines samples.

INFORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

A common assumption is that rural life is characterized by a predominance of informal, primary contacts while urban life is characterized by formal, secondary, and highly casual contacts. The only systematic data available point to the opposite conclusion. Analysis of the time spent in primary contacts by an urban, a rural-nonfarm, and a rural-farm sample of employed males in Nashville, Tennessee, and in adjacent areas, showed that urban males spent significantly more time in primary contacts than did farm- or rural-nonfarm males. 21/

No attempt to measure time spent in primary contacts was made in the Des Moines study, but a "neighboring" index was constructed by scoring responses to questions about frequencies of various kinds of contacts with neighbors. These scores showed virtually no variation among farm- or urban-migrants and natives of Des Moines. Similar results are reported for the Wilmington study, although white-collar workers had significantly more neighboring contacts than blue-collar workers. 9/

Sharp and Axelrod 22/ reported that natives of Detroit were more extensively involved with friends and relatives in mutual aid relationships than were migrants. Similar differences were observed in Des Moines. Differences between natives and all migrants were much greater, however, than differences between farm- and urban-migrants.

Rural-reared migrants in Des Moines and families who always lived there visited with nonrelated families with approximately equal frequency, both being less than the visiting patterns of urban-migrant families.

FAMILY AND KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

Much has been written about rural-urban differences in family and kinship relationships. Typically the rural family system is portrayed as larger

and as emphasizing bilateral kinship and intergenerational ties, whereas the urban family is portrayed as the small, isolated nuclear family, consisting of husband and wife and their young children living relatively independently of other relatives. In fact, it has been suggested that the small isolated nuclear family system is ideally suited to the demands of a complex, urban, industrial society with high geographic and occupational mobility. 23/ Empirical studies of urban family systems question the validity of this position. Litwak 24/ found evidence of networks of relationships and mutual assistance along kinship lines and encompassing two or more generations. These patterns had strong resemblance to those of the classical extended family system thought to be extinct in all but the more isolated rural areas of the Nation. Recent articles by Sussman and Burchinal marshal empirical and theoretical support for Litwak's view that a modified extended family system can be maintained in an industrial society. 25/

Several kinds of evidence of the extent of family activities and the strength of kinship ties were obtained in the Des Moines study: number of and occasions for large family gatherings, visiting with relatives living in the city, visiting with relatives living elsewhere, giving and receiving various kinds of assistance ranging from financial gifts to help in getting to know people, sources of advice regarding problems, and help with the decision to move to Des Moines.

Though considered typical of rural family life, large family gatherings at holidays, birthdays, reunions, picnics, parties, and dinners also occur frequently among urban families. Eighty-five percent of the farm-migrant families in Des Moines reported such gatherings, compared with 71 percent of the urban-migrant families. Urban natives, however, were more like the farm-migrants than the urban-migrants with 83 percent. The frequency of these large family gatherings was highest among native, next among farm-migrants and lowest among urban-migrant families.

Urban-reared migrants in Des Moines were less likely than farm-reared migrants to be preceded by relatives. Almost half of the farm-migrants had relatives in Des Moines at the time they moved to the city, compared with almost one-third of the urban-migrant families. But the proportions influenced by their relatives to make the move to Des Moines were identical in the two samples of migrants (26 percent).

Families who always lived in Des Moines, had, as might be expected, the most kin present in the city and visited more frequently with kin, but the intensity or frequency of visits per relative in the city did not vary significantly among the three samples.

Farm-migrant families visited more frequently with relatives living outside of Des Moines than did urban-migrants or families who always had lived in that city. The greater frequency of visiting among farm-migrant families with relatives living outside of Des Moines was explained by the closer proximity of these relatives. A larger proportion of the nonresident relatives of farm-migrant families lived in the metropolitan county or in adjacent counties or elsewhere in Iowa than did the relatives of other families.

Tilly 9/ found quite similar patterns of relationships with kin in Wilmington, Delaware, but with one important exception. Although urban-migrants in Wilmington also had fewer kin in the city, they associated more with these kin than other respondents did with their relatives living in Wilmington. Marked increases in contact with kin occurred over time, and consequently, differences in frequency of kinship association between natives and migrants who had lived in the city a long time were quite small. Older migrants were more likely to have kin present in the city than were newer migrants. This follow-the-leader (relative) pattern, with resulting more recent in-migration of new relatives, provides further support for Litwak's suggestion that while the short-run effect of mobility is to disperse kin groups, families maintain ties and, in the long run, reconsolidate. 24/

THE FUNCTION OF KIN IN ADJUSTMENT

What is the effect of kinship ties on adjustment to urban life? Kinship ties are important in the decision to move and, no doubt, are useful at past in the initial stages of adjustment to the city, but what is their overall effect on adjustment? Rose and Warshay 26/ found that migrants with already existing primary group contacts in the new community are more likely to remain isolated from the rest of the community and to remain isolated longer than migrants without such contacts. Contrary to their expectations, migrants with already existing primary group contacts in the new community reported greater dissatisfaction with life, greater distrust, and less sympathy for other people. Rural-urban differences in migrants' backgrounds were related less to these measures of adjustment than was the presence in the new community of relatives and friends.

THE MIGRANTS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR SITUATION

If the rural-migrant to the city is as deprived of many of the more visible marks of successful adjustment to urban life, notably occupational achievement, as he is sometimes pictured to be, he is often blissfully unaware of it. Shannon noted that "much of the concern over the plight of the Mexican-Americans in Racine, Wisconsin, revolved around the apparent lack of concern over their own sorry state of affairs evidenced by the Mexicans. This in itself was cause for great alarm on the part of middle-class persons. Knowledge of the environment from which the Mexicans came might have tempered local concern over the attitude of the Mexicans toward their present living conditions". 10/

Most measures of adjustment are urban-oriented: they rank performance in occupational or organizational activity in terms of urban standards, but the rural-reared migrant has two standards available to him; the urban standard and the standard of his rural community of orientation. He may not, therefore, fully accept the urban standard in evaluating his own performance. In fact, by urban standards, he may be relatively unsuccessful in his occupational pursuit and associated income and material benefits, but from a rural frame of reference, he may have improved his lot immensely.

Farm-reared migrants, like urban-reared migrants, move primarily for economic reasons, and the majority report that their economic position has improved as a result of moving. The principal reasons for moving to Des Moines were economic; better job or higher paying employment. The same was true of the Mexican-Americans moving to Racine, Wisconsin, but non-Mexican migrants were more likely to give family-oriented reasons. 10/ In Des Moines, the differences between farm-reared and urban-reared migrants in proportions giving economic reasons as causes of migration was nonsignificant -- 88 and 83 percent, respectively.

In general, approximately equal proportions of the two Des Moines migrant groups felt their family welfare had been improved and in about the same ways because of their move to Des Moines. These ways included having a better job with more regular hours, higher pay or better working conditions, having more friends, having a better social life, having better schools for their children, and feeling more settled. However, about twice as large a proportion of farm-migrants (48 percent) than urban-migrants (26 percent) reported having better living conditions or a nicer home.

The two migrant groups differed in some of their evaluations of ways in which they felt they were less well-off as a result of having moved to Des Moines. Slightly over 47 percent of the farm-migrant wives disliked the traffic congestion, dirt, noise and pace of city life compared with five percent of the urban-migrant wives. In contrast, a greater proportion of urban-migrants (32 percent) than farm-migrants (19 percent) missed their close friends. Also, urban-migrants more frequently complained of higher taxes and expensive housing (27 percent), compared with 11 percent for farm-migrants. Otherwise, roughly equal proportions of respondents in both groups complained of an unfriendly atmosphere, not feeling safe, poor recreational facilities, difficulties in rearing children, husbands being dissatisfied with their work, children's unhappiness at school or that the families just did not like Des Moines.

Despite less success in achieving high economic status, farm-migrants were more likely to feel they had benefited financially from moving to the city. Three-fourths of the farm-migrants and two-thirds of the urban-migrants felt their economic position had improved. Very few said it was worse -- three percent of the farm-migrants and less than one percent of the urban-migrants. No doubt, in making this judgment, some farm-migrants compared their present economic status with their former situations or the current situations of friends and relatives in their "home" communities. Studies of the impact of industrialization on agricultural communities indicate that improvement in economic position is primarily a function of higher pay derived from nonfarm work. Farm- and rural-nonfarm people who take urban jobs but remain in their rural residences almost universally report an improvement in their economic situations. 27/ 28/

The majority of both rural-reared and urban-reared migrants to the city feel that their situations improved with the move. Many probably feel they have moved up the status scale. On the other hand, objective data indicate that generally rural-reared migrants have lower high status than urban-

reared migrants or natives. How do rural-migrants feel about this? Do they recognize that by urban standards they hold inferior positions?

SELF RATINGS OF FAMILY STATUS

Farm-reared urban residents seem to be aware of their lower social status relative to other urban residents. Freedman and Freedman found that farm-reared urban residents most frequently identified with the working class, whereas other urban residents claimed membership in the middle or upper class. 2/ Similar results were found in the Des Moines investigation. The apparent relationship between community of origin and self-concept of social status among Des Moines respondents was principally due to differences in eudcational and occupational achievement among the three samples. When the latter two variables were included in the analysis of differences in self-status concepts, the relationship between self-concepts and community of orientation disappeared. Thus, regardless of community of orientation, persons with higher educational and higher occupational status identified themselves as having higher social position; conversely, those of lower educational and occupational status viewed themselves as having lower social position.

ASPIRATION LEVELS

Despite the integrating influences of mass communication, rapid transportation and the increasing interchange of population between rural and urban sections of the population, numerous studies indicate that farm and rural youth continue to have lower educational and occupational aspirations than urban youth. And some research shows that farm parents have lower educational aspirations and probably lower or less crystallized occupational aspirations for their children than do nonfarm parents. 29/ But what happens after farm-reared parents have lived in the urban environment for a period of time? Do they continue to have lower educational and occupational aspirations for their children or do they adopt the higher aspirations of their urban-reared neighbors?

The Des Moines data indicate that lower educational and occupational aspirations of farm- or rural-reared parents persisted, even after the parents have lived there for almost an average of 11 years. Urban-reared parents had higher educational and occupational aspirations for their young sons than rural-reared parents. Also, the mature sons of urban-reared parents were better educated and had higher levels of occupational achievement records than the mature sons of rural-reared parents. Much of the differences in educational and occupational aspirations or achievement, where these existed among the three migration groups in the Des Moines study, were accounted for by the lower educational and occupational levels of the parents in the farm-reared sample. Lower achievement begets low aspirations for children which begets low achievement, and so goes the cycle. How many generations this pattern will persist among the descendants of rural-migrants is an important research question.

STATUS MOBILITY

Farm-reared migrants with sufficient education enjoy reasonable occupational mobility. They are able to start on about the same level and go about as far as their urban counterparts with similar education, at least this has been the situation in Des Moines. Nevertheless, data on upward occupational mobility, as measured by trends in status levels from the first job after marriage to present job, reveal greater upward mobility among urban-migrants. The greater mobility of urban-migrants was due primarily to their higher levels of education.

EFFECTS OF VARIATIONS IN CULTURAL DISPARITY BETWEEN MIGRANT'S COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN AND COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION

Considerable agreement exists among the results of the various studies reviewed. However, there is also ample evidence of the importance of special circumstances, either in the community of origin or in the community of destination, that must be considered in assessing the findings. In the Indianapolis study many aspects of the adjustment of rural-migrants varied significantly with the region of origin and with the race of the migrant. Regional and racial characteristics are related to the adjustment or assimilation processes encountered by rural persons in the city. For example, Smith 16/ found that rural Southern Negro migrants adjusted more quickly and more completely to the city than did rural Southern white migrants. Although both groups came from rural communities, the Negroes left quite different status positions in their communities of orientation than did the whites. The whites left positions of more or less equal status with other whites and with a definite superiority over Negroes. In Indianapolis, the rural-urban whites entered a situation where their status was definitely inferior to some other whites, and even their superiority over the lower status Negro was lessened. On the other hand, the Negro left a situation of severe occupational and social restrictions, and by moving gained status. Although still subject to some restrictions, Negro migrants enjoyed higher incomes than could be attained "back" home, and some Southern Negroes were able to command higher wages in Indianapolis than Southern whites. Both whites and Negroes from the South faced greater problems of adjustment than Northern whites, because the latter had the advantage of growing up in communities that were nearer to Indianapolis, and culturally more similar to that city.

The Iowa studies included very few nonwhite persons, and most of the farm-reared persons were from Iowa. But a somewhat different set of findings emerged from these two investigations. In Des Moines, there were no significant differences in occupational achievement of farm-migrants and urban-migrants or natives when education was controlled, whereas farm-migrants to Cedar Rapids were less successful than urban-migrants, even at equivalent education levels. Differences between the two cities in occupational structure provide a possible explanation. Cedar Rapids is an industrial center; Des Moines is not. Only 21 percent of the Des Moines labor force was employed in manufacturing in 1960 compared with 39 percent in Cedar Rapids. Des Moines offers more employment opportunities in the service industries where a higher proportion of workers are in middle-status occupations and fewer are in either the high and low status occupations.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In general, rural-reared migrants to urban places do not achieve as high occupational status as urban-reared persons, whether in-migrants or natives. Variations in educational level explain most of these differences in occupational level. Age and length of time lived in the city are of lesser importance. In certain urban labor markets these factors explain all the differences between rural- and urban-migrants in occupational achievement; in others, they do not. Obviously, further research is needed to account for the discrepancies in findings.

Rural-migrants generally participate less fully in formal social organizations than do urban-migrants or persons who have always lived in the city under study, but most of these differences are explained by a third factor, socio-economic status. The tendency of in-migrants to cling to relationships already established with friends and relatives who preceded or followed them to the city may help cushion the shock of adjustment for the migrants, but it also may delay ultimate adjustment. The opportunity to transfer much of their way of life intact to the urban scene may help explain the persistence of lower educational and occupational aspiration levels. Research and specially designed action programs are needed to determine how the cycle of low educational and occupational aspiration and achievement can be broken.

Negative evaluations of the less successful occupational achievement of rural-reared migrants must be tempered with consideration of the social costs and benefits experienced by the migrant. Migration is motivated by a desire to improve status, particularly economic status, and the majority of migrants feel they have succeeded in this, but not without some cost. The costs appear to arise primarily from frustrations experienced in coping with the noise, congestion, and impersonality of urban life. Perhaps, from a personal adjustment point of view, the migrant cannot be blamed for minimizing change in some of his nonoccupational activities. Yet, there is pressure for change from many sources, particularly as levels of living rise, both among rural in-migrants to cities and among rural residents. In the meantime, the process of urbanization of rural areas continues apace, further reducing some of the rural-urban differences we have discussed.

FOOTNOTES

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